

**East West Central**

**East West Central  
Re-Building Europe, 1950–1990**

**Edited by Ákos Moravánszky, Torsten Lange,  
Judith Hopfengärtner, Karl R. Kegler**

Ákos Moravánszky, Torsten Lange (Eds.)

# Re-Framing Identities

Architecture's Turn to History, 1970–1990

East West Central  
Re-Building Europe  
1950–1990  
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Sebastiaan Loosen

# **“Le Monopole du Passéisme”: A Left-Historicist Critique of Late Capitalism in Brussels**

“Nous ne laisserons pas à la droite bourgeoise le monopole du passéisme”. This quote – which translates roughly as “We won’t leave the monopoly of historicism to the bourgeois right” – dates from 1977 and is a fierce call to arms for traditionalist architecture. But it also epitomizes a particular stance in the history of architecture of a group of Belgian architects in search of a socialist architecture rooted in their Western condition at a time when references to socialism and communism were marked by the European East-West divide.

The quote forms the concluding sentence of a paragraph in which its author, Maurice Culot (born 1937), in advocating a historicist architecture, dismisses contemporary currents of modernism, brutalism and neo-rationalism by means of political arguments. The paragraph, in its turn, concludes a text on the Soviet *avant-garde* of the 1920s that served as the editorial in the eleventh issue of AAM, the eponymous journal of the Brussels-based organization Archives d’Architecture Moderne (AAM).<sup>1</sup> Culot’s editorial, then, can be positioned in a line of editorial texts in which a discussion took place between him, Léon Krier and others regarding historicist architecture and the form of the socialist city. At the same time, the issue’s front cover was illustrated by a postmodern design proposal for the Centre Pompidou inspired by

Ledoux and Boullée (fig. 1). The way in which the starting quote is embedded in its larger textual context already points toward three key notions that pervade this specific episode in architectural history and which are the focus of this chapter: socialism, postmodernism and history.

### **La Cambre in the 1970s and the Search for a Western Socialist Architecture**

The origins of AAM and of the organization Archives d'Architecture Moderne are tightly connected with both the Brussels architecture institute La Cambre – which had turned during the 1970s toward a socially engaged pedagogy – and another organization, Atelier de Recherche et d'Action Urbaines (ARAU), which had set up a series of counterprojects voicing a general dissatisfaction with Brussels' urban development. By the mid-1970s, these three actors – ARAU, La Cambre and AAM – had formed a mutually supporting triumvirate with Culot as the pivotal figure, leaving an impact on Brussels through their common critique on the functionalist architecture of their city.

La Cambre served as the host institution, where since the late 1960s the director, Robert L. Delevoy (1914–1982), an art historian inspired by semiology and Baudrillard, had provided institutional maneuvering space for a new generation of teachers including Culot, René Schoonbrodt, Marcel Pesleux and Michel Louis, all of who would contribute to ARAU projects or to AAM (fig. 2). Until 1979, when Delevoy's tenure ended and Culot and associated staff were expelled from the institute,<sup>2</sup> La Cambre served as an incubator of creativity where the enthusiasm and eagerness of students could be called upon to test and develop architectural ideas. It was also the institutional backdrop that allowed these people to develop their architectural stance independent of architectural production, and provided physical spaces that could be used for meetings and exhibitions of ARAU and AAM.

The second actor, ARAU, was the activist-populist side of the story. They added a sociologist background to their architectural expertise and were keen on safeguarding close contact with the population. By using student drawings as counterprojects, ARAU managed to garner public support and prevent the implementation of planned projects in Brussels. In the production of these images they gradually turned to a populist historicist architectural language.<sup>3</sup>

The significant role that AAM had in this triumvirate was two-fold: it had an architectural historical ambition that ultimately served the theoretical underpinnings of this group's historicist architecture, but was also a vehicle to be connected to an international network. It did so by generating a fast pace of exhibitions and a steady flow of publications – mainly internationally renowned exhibition catalogues and, from 1975, their own journal.





**fig. 1** Cover with design proposal for the rear facade of the Centre Pompidou by Maurice Culot, Jean-Pierre Hoq, Philippe Lefèbvre, Elie Levy, Michel Louis, Daniel Staelens & Anne Van Loo. Source: AAM, no. 11 (July 1977). © AAM, Brussels

A second point of important contextualization is the ideological climate. Architectural discourse in Belgium in the 1970s was more a polemic against the excesses of modernism than it was guided by Cold War rhetoric, as in previous decades.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, the general discrediting of Brussels's architecture helped foster La Cambre's strongly articulated political stance. But more importantly, ideology in Belgium was mainly refracted through the lens of pillarization.<sup>5</sup> Combined with the fact that a large part of the Left's intellectuals weren't associated with a specific political party – the Communists were deemed too uncritical of Stalinism, the Socialists too complicit with capitalism<sup>6</sup> – “the political” in architecture became a case of individuals and small groups such as the group at La Cambre, rather than a vision endorsed by a large community.

Nevertheless, since its founding in 1926 by Henry van de Velde, La Cambre had been positioned in the socialist pillar in Belgium, and in the 1970s the Culot group strengthened this ideological positioning and explicitly sought to articulate a form of socialist architecture. In the early 1970s, semiology was the vehicle for this group to translate their political ideas into architecture –

**fig. 2** Marcel Pesleux (with beard) and Maurice Culot (right) with assistants Elie Levy, Caroline Mierop, Philippe Lefèbvre and Anne Van Loo, 1977. Source: Robert Delevoy, Maurice Culot and Anne Van Loo, eds., *La Cambre: 1928–1978* (Brussels: AAM, 1979), 390. © AAM, Brussels



undoubtedly the legacy of their patron Delevoy: architecture had to express social relations somehow,<sup>7</sup> resulting in a less articulate architectural language, with mainly the building contours being drawn. But as this approach didn't fulfill expectations, typology gradually became the architectural theoretical tool for translating the group's architectural and political ideas into concrete projects and a more articulate, historicist architectural language.<sup>8</sup> In this regard, the close collaboration with Léon Krier (born 1946) from 1975 on was fundamental.

### **Socialist Cities of Culot and Krier**

After Culot and Krier had met two years earlier, Peter Cook's 1976 Art Net Rally marked the starting point of a fruitful collaboration between the two that spanned the second half the 1970s, and an anchorage in the architectural historical canon as they became known as the Marxist architects, along with Manfredo Tafuri.<sup>9</sup> While Krier brought a solid dose of intellectual rigor into Culot's enterprise, for Krier, ARAU's actions formed the practical pendant to his theoretical ideas.<sup>10</sup>

Culot convinced Krier to elaborate on his 1975 London exhibition *Rational Architecture* – including works by Aldo Rossi, Giorgio Grassi, James Stirling, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Vittorio Gregotti and others – resulting in the publication of the same title by AAM three years later, a manifesto-like book that was a substantial affirmation of a typologically grounded historicist architecture. *Rational Architecture* was Krier's reinterpretation of *Architettura Razionale* by Rossi and others. Their 1973 exhibition had been meant in part to continue the Italian rationalism of the 1920s while omitting its political linkage to fascism; but at the same time to oppose the functionalism of their time by stressing the social aspect of form.



**fig. 3** Upper part of first pages of an article by Culot on Spoerry.  
Source: *AAM*, no. 12 (November 1977): 4–5. © AAM, Brussels

Angelika Schnell has singled out Rossi's inclusion of Halle-Neustadt's Plattenbau, a product of solid socialist-regime engineering, as emblematic of Rossi's politico-theoretical stance.<sup>11</sup> The *AAM* publication omitted that project, but included an equally emblematic project: François Spoerry's Port Grimaud, a Saint Tropez replica. Though produced by hyper-capitalist real estate action, Port Grimaud would be a recurring architectural model for Culot, who studied its typology and construction details, and would be illustrative of his radically instrumental use of architectural form (fig 3).<sup>12</sup> But he theorized the relation between political convictions and architecture in quite a different way than Krier, which becomes clear in a debate held in the editorial texts of *AAM*, concerned with the form of the socialist city.

A critique on modernism in terms of its alliance with capitalism was never absent from *AAM*'s pages, but an active search for a socialist architecture was initiated by Culot in the May 1976 editorial. Seemingly as a side remark, Culot claims that socialist aesthetics follow a democratic production process and cannot be other than eclectic.<sup>13</sup> In the following issue, Culot was criticized in an open letter by Krier for having a too-shallow interpretation of socialism. A more profound understanding, according to Krier, would shift the problem of architectural form from the realm of aesthetics to that of production: "In an architectural theory and socialist aesthetic, the discussion will have to focus on the question of knowing to what extent a socialist mode of production will become the actual condition of a new architecture."<sup>14</sup> Thus he argues that Culot's style-based approach – giving the people what they like – reduces people to the role of consumers and architecture to a thin cultural facade, hence prone to the same dangers as those that surfaced in the "stylistic orgies" in Stalinist countries.<sup>15</sup>

In the subsequent editorials in this debate, their ideas on the matter are

refined, culminating in Culot's populist plea for outright pastiche in order to destroy every grain of "imagination" and "creative genius" on the part of the architect.<sup>16</sup> The form of architecture is emphasized here because it was believed to be the only way to mobilize the population. Krier, on the other hand, remained less interested in the form of the built product than in the actual production process (fig. 4). Each position is Marxist in a different way: while Culot focuses on class struggle, Krier takes up alienation (as a result of a certain mode of production) as his starting point. This starting point can be attributed to his encounter with Marxism through some of Theodor Adorno's works, which Krier deemed salient to his nostalgic mindset.<sup>17</sup> In this regard, his critique of consumer architecture might be read as an attempt to apply Adorno's critique of industrialization to the realm of architecture.

This series of editorials culminated in the ambitious 1978 text "The Only Path for Architecture" by Culot and Krier, which was immediately picked up by *Oppositions* and later anthologized in K. Michael Hays's *Architecture Theory since 1968*. Culot and Krier join hands here, co-authoring the text to prove the existence of a convergent movement of theoretical reflection on an international scale.<sup>18</sup> Though constantly stressing the differences between their approaches – one involved with urban struggle, the other with theoretical reflection – they emphasize that they are pursuing the same goal, which is a more democratic architecture. They take advantage of the unique realm of architecture to imagine ways of gaining social equality by means of a double focus on form and on production process: the retrieval of the constitutive elements of the city that had been ignored by modernist urban planning (the street, the square, the neighborhood, etc.) as well as the reconstruction of craftsmanship. Thus they articulated a speculative reflection on the form of a socialist society.

Though Culot and Krier differ in the details of their socialist architecture, a comparison with Belgium's most famous socialist and modernist architect, Renaat Braem (1910–2001), shows how much they are at odds with their peers. Indeed, Braem didn't shun the explicit connection between postmodern historicist architecture and regression.<sup>19</sup> In his view, old city elements were mainly remnants of an oppression that should make way for new forms. Braem was respectfully criticized on this aspect by his peers at AAM.<sup>20</sup> Emblematic of this critique are the last paragraphs of the monograph on Braem by Francis Strauven (born 1942), an early (and a rare Flemish) member of AAM. In those paragraphs, Strauven frames Braem's socialist projects within the larger politico-economic constellation in which they were formulated: "Also Braem's cult of the new in fact fits better in the Western economy, however much his sincere intentions, which are not being doubted,



**fig. 4** Project for the reconstruction of the Brigittines quarter, by Séfik Birkiye, Gilbert Busieau and Patrice Neirinck, 1978. The caption tells of their imagined city: "The inhabitants which have received an artisanal formation in the workshops of the Notre-Seigneur Street make up the spearhead of this popular enterprise. ... Two artisan-carpenters alter a piece of wood after it was shaped by the new sawmill established on the covered North-South junction. On the opposing pavement, our friend Léon Krier has taken off his jacket and admires, not without astonishment, their regained skills." Source: Annick Brauman, Maurice Culot and Michel Louis, eds., *La Reconstruction de Bruxelles* (Brussels: AAM, 1982), 67. Author's translation. © AAM, Brussels

may run counter to it."<sup>21</sup> Strauven's argument – Braem's cult of the new being unthinkable outside a capitalist framework – points to a political complicity that Culot and Krier are trying to avoid when they call for the reappropriation of the bourgeois legacy. The irony nowadays is that Braem is lauded as a great architect, and one that stayed true to his socialist ideals, while the AAM plea for pastiche is rather associated with the neoliberalization of historicist architecture.<sup>22</sup>

The more substantial architectural argument in Strauven's critique of Braem entailed the latter's unhistorical approach to the city.<sup>23</sup> Originally writing his monograph on Braem contemporaneous with the *Rational Architecture* publication, Strauven stresses the richness of the city, rather than nature or the machine, as the referent for architecture, an argument going back to Anthony Vidler's "The Third Typology," included in the book.<sup>24</sup> Thus Strauven's critique aptly outlines the fundamental difference between these two Belgian socialist architectures.

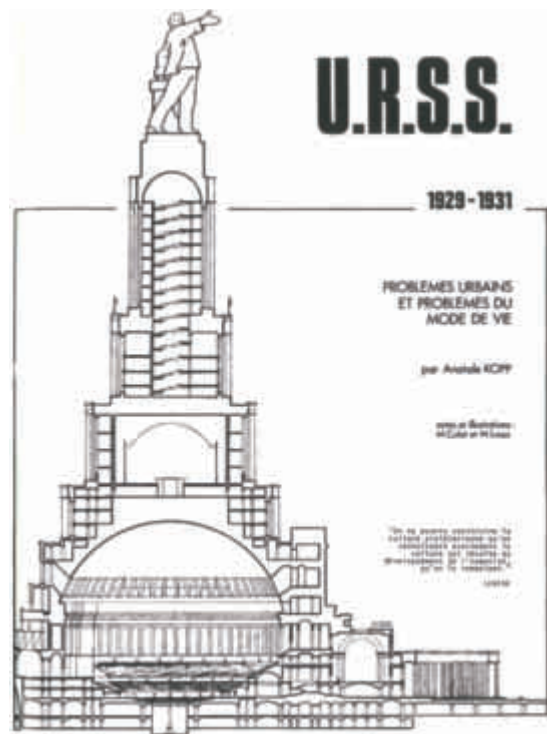
The search by Culot and Krier for a socialist architecture was kept almost entirely within the West, which contained important strategic consequences with regard to how to match architecture with political ideas. This is evident, for instance, when Culot directs himself towards the international scene and frames the context of their actions as taking place in "a country in which the communists are not candidates for power."<sup>25</sup> Yet they include the East in their rhetoric at one point, and it's interesting to see how.

### **The Soviet 1920s Avant-Garde and the Socialist Realist Debate**

As explained above, the quote at the beginning of this paper is part of an editorial on the USSR's 1920s avant-garde. The corresponding issue of *AAM* contains the transcription of a lecture by Anatole Kopp (1915–1990) held at La Cambre in March 1977, based on his lecture held in Berlin a month earlier (figs. 5, 6).<sup>26</sup> Kopp's visit marked a brief period of fascination with the Soviet avant-garde of the 1920s, not entirely out of tune with the international climate; but whereas their contemporaries were generally positive about the constructivists, the take at La Cambre is more ambivalent, which is perhaps already announced in their placement of the Palace of the Soviets on the title page of Kopp's lecture. This brief period was perhaps the most explicit interpretation of the architecture of socialist countries that the La Cambre group had shown during their own search. The way in which Culot integrates this fascination with the La Cambre narrative of 1970s Brussels is especially revealing of what it meant to advocate a socialist architecture in that setting.

In the midst of the *AAM* editorial debate on the socialist form of the city, Culot reformulated their own position as a continuation of the debate launched by Russian revolutionaries of the 1920s, thus conveniently skipping the Stalinist era.<sup>27</sup> Culot made use of the republications of Russian texts of the era by Éditions l'Âge d'Homme, the Lausanne-based publisher that disseminated Slavic and dissident Soviet writers. Through a 1975 republication of a 1924 issue of the Russian journal *Press and Revolution* [Печать и революция], annotated by Gérard Conio, Culot and others had access to a debate five decades old, which essentially centered on relations between social revolution





**fig. 5** Title page of Anatole Kopp's lecture. Source: AAM, no. 11 (July 1977): 5. © AAM, Brussels

and aesthetics – ultimately the same problem they were posing in Brussels.<sup>28</sup> It is most likely in this same book that Culot learned about the quote which he would use as the title of his editorial: “She is good, she is very good, your youth, but what do you teach them!” Again showing their ambivalence, the quote is a remark by Lenin during his 1921 visit to the VKhUTEMAS School in Moscow after he learned that students in their search for new forms put aside the established history of Russian architecture.<sup>29</sup>

Culot explicitly confided to his readers that for them, in European capitalist countries, the thing to do is to continue that debate and bring it to an end in order to start what he and Krier term “the reconstruction of the European city.”<sup>30</sup> The way forward would be to recuperate all traditional architectural and urban models, regardless of whether they are of bourgeois descent or not, since – so Culot argues – there is no proletarian culture without tradition. Thus, Culot explicitly parallels his argument to that of Lazar Kaganovich, the Stalinist administrator who had voiced the USSR’s departure from constructivism by declaring that “our cities have become socialist at the moment of the October revolution.”<sup>31</sup> In other words: no new form is desired. In the same stroke, Culot denounced the socialist merit in architecture not

**fig. 6** Anatole Kopp during his conference at La Cambre in March 1977. Photographer: Jean Boucher. Source: ENSAV-La Cambre archives, folder 31.



based on tradition: modernist, or for the same matter, neo-rationalist. For him, the political is something that should be actively seized: the bourgeois *passéisme* should be appropriated for our aims, or so he claimed. Hence the starting quote of this paper.

But what did Culot mean when he urged readers to “continue the debate and bring it to an end”? Two months after Kopp’s visit to La Cambre, Culot was more explicit in a discussion with Krier and Bernard Tschumi at Peter Cook’s Art Net.<sup>32</sup> There, he confided that he preferred the chaos of Brussels to a definitive image of the socialist city, which was the mistake Russian architects had made in the 1920s. So, Culot preferred chaos, but only as long as it was the result of democratic processes.<sup>33</sup>

Kopp, on the other hand, was a fierce defendant of the modern project and did believe in the power of new architectural forms. He would regularly criticize the stance of AAM, mainly on the crucial point of the intertwining of form and historical change: if one can only copy from the past, how can one be directed toward a different society?<sup>34</sup>

Kopp would intervene similarly in a contemporaneous debate touching on the same issue of architecture’s relationship to society: the realism debate. Kopp’s critique targeted Bernard Huet’s overt acknowledgement of socialist realism’s merits in *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* in April 1977, picking up on two theme issues on realism published by *Archithese* over the two preceding years.<sup>35</sup> Huet argued against an all-too easy alignment of architecture and political merit based on the local regime. As such, some products of socialist realism were placed together with *Tendenza* in Italy in the realist camp, praised for their easily understandable language and their inclination towards typicality. Huet’s praise was of course controversial, but also insufficiently understood, since his condensed arguments on realism built on an extensive





**fig. 7** Jean Dethier and Bernard Huet at a jury in La Cambre, 1977. Photographer: Hugues Boucher. Source: *La Cambre: 1928–1978* (see fig. 2), 393. © Éditions Trois Arches

debate foreign to France.<sup>36</sup> The realism that Huet was advocating, was set against a formalism that he described as a dogmatic clinging to either side of the form/content divide. The realist position, on the other hand, was not to accept reality as it is, but “to take hold of it, in order to transform it ‘politically.’” Huet saw the basis of such a political agency of architecture in common sense or collective meanings, and thus in the use of expected typologies and in the reappropriation of heritage. One such realist approach was recognized by Huet – the intellectual comrade of Culot and an oft-invited speaker at La Cambre (fig. 7) – in Culot’s actions in Brussels. The group in Brussels didn’t miss the article, as it would serve as the reference point of a set of four texts in *AAM* one year later, by students at La Cambre, in which they would reformulate their personal architectural stances.<sup>37</sup>

The realism debate crossed *AAM*’s path in another way during these years, as it would surface at the margins of Krier’s theoretical work of the time. Krier, in a text republished in various forms including in the *Rational Architecture* catalogue and in some of his presentation texts for the 1976 La Villette project in Paris, would point to the political dimension of architecture by briefly evoking the realism debate followed by a denunciation of socialist realism as being focused merely on style.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes Krier would extend the argument and advocate a discussion about realism, which should be centered on “the question of how a socialist mode of production will affect the form of the architectural object.”<sup>39</sup> Krier’s main preoccupation was of course to critique the alienating aspects of industrialization, but his contribution to the realism debate, which was a rephrasing of the argument presented in the open letter to Culot, nevertheless shows how much the debate in *AAM*’s pages had been informed in dialogue with socialist realism.

## Conclusion

As a concluding complication, we can see how much this search for realism and socialism in a Western European society is bound up with postmodernity. In the same context as Krier's evocation of the realism debate, we encounter once more the Centre Pompidou, on the construction site of which the graffiti "The New Is New No More" was apparently painted. For Krier, it attested to the end of an era, a depiction we could interpret as a postmodern weariness with the cult of the new.<sup>40</sup> He would go on to characterize the Centre as "a cultural machine which tries to hide its social emptiness by an ephemeral and prestigious formalism." It's this wish to fill this "social emptiness" that draws us back to the front cover of the eleventh issue of *AAM*, depicting an alternative rear facade to embellish the Centre, designed by Culot and a group of La Cambre associates. This design was published simultaneously in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, not coincidentally that journal's "Formalism/Realism" issue.

Thus we find how this chapter's starting quote drags along an intriguing vortex combining elements of a postmodern critique of innovation, an opposition toward capitalism with history as arms, and an embedded nature in international discourse. The La Cambre group's architectural approach was marked by the vivid awareness of articulating it in the political context of Belgium, and shows how the all too rigid East-West divide is refracted by Belgium's pluralist political landscape.

## Endnotes

I'm indebted to the various suggestions of Elke Couchez, Rajesh Heynickx, Yves Schoonjans and in particular Hilde Heynen. Discussions at ETH Zurich and at the KU Leuven architectural-theory PhD exchange platform improved the argument. Correspondence with Maurice Culot and with Francis Strauven provided me with much valuable information, though any misinterpretations are the author's. This chapter is the result of research supported by a project grant from the FWO.

- 1 Maurice Culot, "Elle est bonne, elle est très bonne, votre jeunesse, mais qu'est-ce que vous lui apprenez!", *AAM*, 11 (July 1977), 3–4. In the remainder of this chapter, the acronym *AAM* stands for the organization Archives d'Architecture Moderne, and when italicized, for the organization's journal.
- 2 During the 1970s, La Cambre, then a state institution, was divided into a new generation centered around Culot and Delevoy, and an older generation of modernists such as Jacques Wybauw (1925–2005) and Paul-Emile Vincent (1924–2007). Changes in legislation concerning architectural education initiated in 1977 tipped the balance at La Cambre in favor of the latter camp by prioritizing professors appointed before 1976. This eventually led to twenty-four teachers being forced to leave the institute in 1979

- and Culot's official dismissal in November 1979. Jacques Aron, *La Cambre et l'architecture: Un regard sur le Bauhaus belge* (Pierre Mardaga: Liège, 1982), 179–188; Geert Bekaert, "Wie over architectuur wil spreken, sta op, en zwijge: Bedenkingen van een buitenstaander, buitenstaanders hebben gemakkelijk spreken," *Wonen-TABK*, 11 (June 1983), 10–27 (p. 15); "L'Invité Maurice Culot," interview by Thierry Paquot, *Urbanisme*, 361 (July–August 2008), 77–86 (p. 81).
- 3 Isabelle Doucet, "Counter-Projects and the Postmodern User," in *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture*, ed. Kenny Cupers (London: Routledge, 2013), 233–247 (p. 240); Doucet, "Counter-Projects," in *The Practice Turn in Architecture: Brussels after 1968* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).
- 4 Jo Braeken, "Renaat Braem 1910–2001, leven en werk," in *Renaat Braem 1910–2001 architect*, 1, ed. Braeken (Brussels: ASA Publishers, 2010), 14–109 (p. 57).
- 5 Hilde Heynen, "The Jargon of Authenticity: Modernism and Its (Non) Political Position," in *Constructed Happiness: Domestic Environment in the Cold War Era*, ed. Mart Kalm and Ingrid Ruudi (Tallinn: Estonian Academy of Arts, 2005), 10–27 (p. 22). Pillarization is the far-reaching division of societal organizations (such as trade unions, health services, education) according to political ideology.
- 6 Renaat Braem, *Het schoonste land ter wereld* (Leuven: Kritak, 1987), 112.
- 7 Roland Matthu, "Neo-klassieke inspanningen," *A+*, 109 (1990), 28–39 (p. 35).
- 8 Robert Delevoy, "Diagonal: Towards an Architecture," in *Rational Architecture: The Reconstruction of the European City*, ed. Léon Krier (Brussels: AAM, 1978), 4–22 (p. 15).
- 9 Robert Maxwell, "Tafari/Culot/Krier: The Role of Ideology," *Architectural Design*, 47:3 (1977), 186–8. Looking back on this period, Krier describes himself and his contemporaries as "fashionable Marxists" and his own views as an "infantile political outlook" that had yet to mature. Léon Krier, "Looking Back without Anger," in *Exit Utopia: Architectural Provocations 1956–76*, ed. Martin Van Schaik and Otakar Máčel (Munich: Prestel, 2005), 309–314 (pp. 311–313).
- 10 Geert Bekaert, "Une mise à nu de l'architecture par ses adorateurs mêmes: Maurice Culot and Léon Krier: A Forgotten Episode," in *Exit Utopia*, 299–308 (p. 299).
- 11 Angelika Schnell, "The Socialist Perspective of the XV Triennale di Milano: Hans Schmidt's Influence on Aldo Rossi," *Candide*, 2 (July 2010), 33–72.
- 12 Maurice Culot, "Portrait de François Spoerry," *AAM*, 12 (November 1977), 4–22. This earned him some mockery from Charles Jencks: "Maurice Culot, a soi-disant Stalinist, even sees [Port Grimaud] as the answer for the communist future, a nice irony of hypertensive capitalism being the midwife of history." *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, rev. ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1978), 94.
- 13 Maurice Culot, "Tout est luxe, calme et beauté," *AAM*, 8 (May 1976), 1–2.
- 14 Léon Krier, "Lettre ouverte à Culot," *AAM*, 9 (December 1976), 3. Author's translation.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Maurice Culot, "Le Monoplan de papier," *AAM*, 13 (first trimester 1978), 1–3.
- 17 "Leon Krier Talks to Colin Davies," in *Drawings 1967 – 1980* (Brussels: AAM, 1980), xvii–xxiv (p. xx).

- 18 Maurice Culot and Léon Krier, "L'Unique Chemin de l'architecture," *AAM*, 14 (second trimester 1978), 1–5 (p. 3). Trans. Christian Hubert, "The Only Path for Architecture," *Oppositions*, 14 (Fall 1978), 38–53; and in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. K. Michael Hays (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 348–355.
- 19 Braem, *Schoonste land ter wereld*, 178.
- 20 Tokens of their mutual respect might be seen in La Cambre's recurrent invitations to Braem to take part in the juries, and in Braem's decision to donate part of his archives to AAM, starting from 1974. Culot and Anne Van Loo, eds., *Musée des Archives d'Architecture Moderne: Collections* (Brussels: AAM, 1986), 110–121.
- 21 Francis Strauven, *Renaat Braem: De dialectische avonturen van een Vlaams functionalist* (Brussels: AAM, 1983), 96. Author's translation.
- 22 Matthu, "Neo-klassieke inspanningen."
- 23 Strauven, *Renaat Braem*, 96–97.
- 24 Anthony Vidler, "The Third Typology," in *Rational Architecture*, ed. Krier, 23–32.
- 25 Maurice Culot, "The Cambre School of Architecture and Anti-Industrial Resistance," *Lotus International*, 21 (December 1978), 46–71 (p. 49).
- 26 Anatole Kopp, "U.R.S.S. 1929–1931: Problèmes urbains et problèmes du mode de vie," *AAM*, 11 (July 1977), 5–19.
- 27 Culot, "Elle est bonne."
- 28 Gérard Conio, ed., *Le Formalisme et le futurisme russes devant le marxisme: Problèmes de la révolution culturelle*, (Lausanne: Éditions l'Âge d'Homme, 1975).
- 29 *Ibid.*, 223.
- 30 Culot, "Elle est bonne," 4.
- 31 Strauven, *Renaat Braem*, 33.
- 32 "Postmodernism: Uses of Language in Architecture," Architectural Association video from a discussion between Maxwell, Krier, Culot and Tschumi on May 25, 1977 at Art Net, accessed August 25, 2015, <http://www.aaschool.ac.uk/VIDEO/lecture.php?ID=2835>.
- 33 Maxwell, "Tafari/Culot/Krier," 191.
- 34 Remnants of earlier, more extensive critiques formulated during lectures in Marseille (March 1979) and Liège (1981) constitute the final paragraphs of Kopp, *Quand le moderne n'était pas un style mais une cause* (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1988). Typescripts of the lectures are kept at the Centre d'Archives de l'IFA.
- 35 Bernard Huet, "Formalisme – réalisme," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 190 (April 1977), 35–36.
- 36 Jean-Louis Cohen, "The Italophiles at Work (1984)," in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. Hays, 506–520 (p. 513).
- 37 Gilbert Busieu, et al., "À propos de 'Formalisme – réalisme' par Bernard Huet, et 'Traditions et luttes urbaines' par René Schoonbrodt," *AAM*, 15 (third and fourth trimester 1978), 95–106.
- 38 Léon Krier, "Some Ideas on Realism," *Casabella*, 420 (December 1976), 20–27 (pp. 20–21).
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Léon Krier, "The Reconstruction of the City," in *Rational Architecture*, 33–42 (p. 38).